THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Archbishop's Quest

Patrick O'Donovan

Advise and Consent

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Kennedy's Men

The Editors

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Confusing the Opposition

★ The worst thing that could happen to young Mr. Kennedy would be to have the feeling get around that he didn't mean what he said in the campaign – just said it to get elected. Conservatives are eager to believe this, liberals just enough uncertain to be watchful. The new cabinet doesn't prove matters one way or another, it carries water on both shoulders.

Eisenhower would never have put Orville Freeman (Agriculture), Arthur Goldberg (Labor), Stewart Udall (Interior) in his cabinet, nor in his subcabinet Chester Bowles, Adlai Stevenson and Mennen Williams. But the three top men could all have sat with Eisenhower, ideologically speaking: Dean Rusk (State), Robert McNamara (Defense) and Douglas Dillon (Treasury). Two of them are Republicans and one, Dillon, actually was on the Eisenhower team, as Undersecretary of State.

Kennedy has more reason than most to placate all sides. He is extremely young, the first Catholic, and he won by an underwhelming majority. We sense an extraordinary amount of reservations and questionmarks still in the popular response to him. So far he has been strikingly sure-footed. Getting Dillon to switch from the Eisenhower team was a *tour de force,* like getting Lyndon Johnson to run as Vice President. It confuses opponents. Just six weeks ago for example, we were out with Nixon in Lancaster, Pa., where he was charging that Kennedy's "never-never economic ideas" would cost the budget "$15 billion or more a year" and would bring deficits and "another ruinous round of inflation."

And now here, in effect, is Republican ex-banker Dillon crying out "Bunk!" to all this and joining the enemy – to hold the purse-strings himself. "Wall Street Hails Dillon Choice" is one headline. This is very nice in disconcerting Republicans, but it disconcerts liberals, too.

Let us say we have some doubts about the Kennedy Cabinet ourself, but they are not too serious and can wait further developments. Dillon is a high-type internationalist; he might have headed the State Department; he is a Rockefeller Republican who puts many things ahead of a balanced budget.

In the broader sense the American cabinet is part of the folk-law of our politics. It is supposed to have collective and advisory importance but generally doesn't: Hoover had stuffed shirts, FDR's group was rather conservative, Truman in turn dropped the best of the New Deal left-overs, and Eisenhower had a few strong men to whom he delegated everything. For none of them did the cabinet, as a collective entity, have much meaning.

The Faculty Meeting

★ Kennedy has picked a college faculty rather than a cabinet. They can park their *cum laudes* on the umbrella stand. We like their stamina and youth but we search around for the fervor and passion we should like to find. Freeman and Goldberg have it, and Bobby Kennedy has it, at least in anything to aid his brother, but where is that will to bold new action? Rusk, Dillon and McNamara, it is being said, are administrators and technicians not trail-blazers.

The cabinet is a little gray and colorless. There are no prima donnas which means, we assume, that the self-confident President-elect will hold the reins himself. That is what strong Presidents have done before. It was human to pick Bobby for Attorney General, but the very nickname and the post seem incongruous. (We shall have to call him "Robert.") The choice threatens to complicate family with executive relationships in Washington and from now on it will be an opposition target. We have always liked Bobby – there we go again – and he has an attractive crusading zeal against racketeers, but to put a man as young as this in charge, for example, of the FBI, America's secret police, is a little daunting.

(Another man, Abraham Lincoln, put his three convention opponents into his cabinet and then showed how to treat them. When the cabinet unanimously opposed issuing the Emancipation Proclamation he announced, "On this issue the 'Nays' have seven; the 'Ayes' – one. The 'Ayes' have it.")

Kennedy himself is often too unemotional; too cool and detached. The one instance where he really showed dramatic personal commitment probably won him the election. It was his call to Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. when her husband was outrageously arrested. Eisenhower shrugged his shoulders over the matter here last week; to a group of White House visitors he deplored the thought that "a couple of telephone calls" had defeated the GOP. Of course Eisenhower wouldn't understand. It was his failure over eight years to make any personal commitment to the human side of the civil rights battle that made the contrast of Kennedy's manly action so dramatic.

Unbalanced Reporting

★ We mentioned last week the failure of the press generally to play up the conviction of big advertisers, General Electric, Westinghouse and 17 other major electrical manufacturers in the ugly $7 billion criminal anti-trust conspiracy. *Time* magazine gave the affair 34 lines on page 77 and in the same issue 55 lines, on page 19, to a new effort against union boss Hoffa. We don't defend Hoffa, but the action against him is only a preliminary indictment; that against the electric firms is a final ignominious plea of "guilty" to criminal conspiracy.

Notes: The GOP jeered the Democrats' National Advisory Council but badly needs one like it now; otherwise the legislative wing of a party (always more conservative than the national wing) will take full charge. . . . An AP dispatch says the rate of German economic growth may sink from 8 to 4 percent because of labor and plant shortages; by contrast the US has labor and plant surpluses of four million unemployed and steel mills half idle – yet our growth rate is below three percent.

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The President-elect may not, in every instance, have picked "the best men available" for his Cabinet, but since "the best man," like "the very best butter," is a matter of personal taste, the new appointees and John Kennedy should be given the benefit of a few doubts. On the whole, the Cabinet has a new-minted brightness.

There *are* doubts, nevertheless, and the Defense appointment gives rise to the most important of them. Robert S. McNamara will run not only the most expensive operation in the United States (roughly $43 billion a year) but a Department on which the President must rely for advice on conflicting strategic concepts, the resolution of which could determine whether the United States comes out whole in the next 20 years. In perhaps no other top position in government is there as great a need for not merely administrative ability but for a broad grasp of foreign policy and a sophisticated understanding of intricate weapons systems, production and procurement, and of the kind of balanced defense structure most likely in a nuclear age to "provide for the common defense."

One can see why Mr. McNamara seemed irresistible, once the thought had been planted by the new Secretary's political sponsor, Michigan Senator Philip Hart. Here was someone who fit to a "T" the measurements in the minds of the image-makers: A Republican, brainy, a furious worker, self-made at 44 as the President of Ford, he would bring identification with modern business management. As an executive specialist in cost-control, he had the look of a man who could cut through red tape and trim fat. And yet he also had the inquiring and free-wheeling style now so admired: a former Harvard Business School professor who lives in academic Ann Arbor rather than in the motor society of Grosse Pointe, who contributed to citizens' efforts for a Michigan FEPC and had been among the first signers of a "Covenant of Open Occupancy" against racial discrimination in the sale of local real estate. But for all the philosophy he studied as a University of California undergraduate, Mr. McNamara is the product of a life in industry where making good and making money are assumed to be the same. In general (and the new Defense Secretary may be the exception that proves the rule), industrialists have been less effective in government than have that quite different business type – the New York investment bankers or corporation lawyers. The Stimsons, the Lovetts, the Forrestals, the McCloys, the Nitzes are a different breed from GM's Knudsen and Wilson or Proctor and

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Gamble's McElroy. In this connection, it is not encouraging to learn from *The Wall Street Journal* that the Secretary-designate is unsympathetic toward the $3.9 billion Pentagon research budget, seeing it as the place to begin cutting costs; not encouraging because we need more rather than less research and a proportionate decrease in production commitments to permit continual readjustment in the light of technological advance.

Although Mr. Kennedy has not swapped a Chevrolet for a Ford (Mr. McNamara is not another "Engine Charlie"), the appointment does raise substantive questions. Secretary McNamara must soon resolve, before he has a clear and informed view of what is required, bitter built-in controversies not only among the three services but among many outside military "experts" about the priorities to be assigned to conventional strength as against nuclear deterrence, disarmament negotiations, a nuclear test ban, the form of our relationship to military allies in Western Europe, the future of US overseas bases, the character of military commitments and alliances in Asia, etc.

And all of these problems must be analyzed in terms of the positive effect any US policy has on the military decisions of friends, the uncommitted and the adversaries. Every decision in Defense must reflect an outwardlookingness. Mr. McNamara's brilliant record in business may incline him to underrate his own ignorance of military matters, to overemphasize the domestic scene (in which he is most at home) to the neglect of the foreign field (where the problems lie). To avoid such pitfalls, the new Secretary must rely on the informed opinion of others. But who, in the early months of '61, will advise him? For all practical purposes, one or more subordinates will have to be Secretary of Defense until a year or 10 months from now.

If the choice of his principal assistants offers reliable pointers, Mr. McNamara may be postponing indefinitely any redefinition of our national defense strategy, for he is said to be thinking of co-equal status for two deputy secretaries (possibly Roswell Gilpatric, former Undersecretary for Air, and Paul H. Nitze) holding dissimilar strategic views. More money for air offense- and defense-capability on the one hand, and upgrading conventional forces on the other, would not be irreconcilable given a large enough defense budget, for then there would be money for all. But there can never be enough funds for simultaneous development on all fronts at the same time. Fundamental choices need to be made. Someone must bite the bullet.

The new Defense Secretary appears to have been given a free hand by the President-elect, not only on such operational matters as Pentagon reorganization and selection of his assistants, but on the fundamentals of strategy. We trust this does not mean that Mr. Kennedy chose his Defense Secretary without prior agreement on the broad approach to the strategy debate implicit in the Democratic platform pledge "to provide forces and weapons of a diversity, balance and mobility sufficient in quantity and quality to deter both limited and general aggressions."

The Younger Kennedy

But if the selection of Mr. McNamara is, as the President-elect's friends hope, a public relations plus, the selection of Robert Kennedy as Attorney-General (though not the selection of Byron White as his Deputy) is initially a public relations minus. It is preferable to have Robert Kennedy in a highly visible position where his acts can be viewed and judged by the public than to relegate him to a backdoor, White House relationship. But is Attorney-General the right position?

Robert Kennedy, on the record, has two things to his credit or discredit, depending partly upon whether he has been after you or for you: He has shown that he is a relentless, tough (to use Washington's favorite word), ambitious prosecutor. He demonstrated this in his association with Senator McCarthy in their investigation of the Communist conspiracy and subsequently in his work with Senator McClellan during the investigation of labor racketeering. Thereafter, the younger Mr. Kennedy proved himself a hard-working, hard-driving political organizer.

Political astuteness and a prosecutor's zeal, however, are less than primary qualifications for the chief legal officer of the US Government. The patronage power of the Attorney-General is considerable, which is one reason why the department should be kept as free as possible from the suspicion of political taint. The new Attorney-General has largely within his control the appointment of about 54 federal judges and the appointment of new US attorneys in every federal district in the country. He more than anyone else sets the tone of the government's approach to a variety of litigations. He more than any other Cabinet member lays down the ultimate policy on the government's relationship to individuals and to business. He is the chief cop of the country and has access to the huge FBI files. He makes the final decision on who is and is not to be on the Attorney-General's list of subversives. He is in charge of deportations and exclusions.

The enforcement of the laws on civil rights is only one of his many duties, though it must be said in this regard that his appointment will give aid and comfort to the enemies of integration, for they have in Robert Kennedy that vulnerable target they seek. It is said that this selection has the approval of Negro leaders who see his impetuousness as a virtue and who suspect, hopefully, that he will not feel too constrained by the

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traditional limitations of the law. Yet in the acrimonious months ahead, as intransigent community after community is encouraged to work its way forward toward compliance with the Court's decrees, a very large measure of tact, national stature and moral leadership as well as technical skill will be called for. Robert Kennedy may have these qualities; he may prove a brilliant Attorney-General, but with all deference to the educative effects of experience, his appointment can only be greeted with reserve.

Dillon to Treasury

In continuing the precedent set by his two Democratic predecessors for including Republicans in his Cabinet, Mr. Kennedy has put a Republican where some Democrats are convinced that the difference between a Republican and a Democrat comes out most strongly. The recent record of predominance of George Humphrey in the Eisenhower Cabinet gives some concern lest there be a carry-over of the policy of tight money and overvaluation of the budget. Regret at Mr. Dillon's acceptance has likewise been clear in high Republican quarters. The Republicans are showing the same disgruntlement that the Democrats felt at the Eisenhower Administration's adoption of New Deal programs. They see too the possibility that if budget deficits and the gold drain continue it will be a Republican who is left holding the empty Treasury bag.

Mr. Dillon himself must have reflected on the cold Republican shoulders turned on those, notably Mr. Lovett, who worked with the Democrats in the recent past. Perhaps he anticipates a Republican Party in the future which is more on the Rockefeller and less on the Nixon model. Perhaps he recognizes the power of threatened resignation and denouncement that he can exercise in the Democratic councils. Or perhaps they just never go back to Pocatello, even if the private life of Pocatello in this case means highly profitable investment banking.

It is in part because Mr. Dillon has the qualities of the successful investment banker that the appointment has in general been well received. His is a profession of the spectator in which men with a very clear assessment of situations act quietly, at judicious moments, without themselves being personally involved. Mr. Dillon's capacity quickly to grasp the essentials of a complex subject has been marked – and remarked – both during the Ambassadorship to France, through which he entered government in 1953, and since he became Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs in 1958.

Personally distant yet personable, very widely acquainted, an excellent witness, a team man, he moves with ease and acumen amidst controversy. Last year at a time when the Administration was buying American in Washington, he presented the case for international cooperation in finance and trade at the GATT meeting in Tokyo. Traveling with Mr. Anderson last month in the latter's ill-structured effort to obtain Western European aid for the dollar, Mr. Dillon disapproved without disrupting the situation and with an understanding which gives him future bargaining power.

But if the special sartorial quality of his profession may go far to make Mr. Dillon a workable member of the Democratic team, the building of the team is unlikely to be characteristic of his operation within the Treasury. Since he has been in the State Department, little has been done to repair an economic staff weakened by the departures in the early Eisenhower years and since unreplaced. It is possible to be one's own Secretary of the Treasury, but the staff there too could do with some attention.

One important unknown factor in Mr. Dillon's appointment to the Treasury will be his early effect on foreign policy. If Mr. Paul Nitze becomes a high official at Defense, the new men at State – Mr. Rusk and Mr. Bowles – will find themselves buttressed by top officers in the two other influential departments whose recent administrative experience has, like theirs, been centered in the field of foreign affairs.

Secretary of Labor Goldberg

The 1913 law creating the Department of Labor lays a special responsibility upon it and upon its Secretary to look after the welfare of wage earners. The theory was that a laboring man has a right to be represented in the government by a voice of his own, just as business men are represented in the Department of Commerce and farmers in the Department of Agriculture. It is a theory which is at odds with sound counsels against factionalism in the American Government and society, but neither Mr. Kennedy nor the man who will be his Secretary of Labor had a hand in writing it into the law. They would both hold instead the more modern concept of the department as a defender of one section of the general public interest, rather than as the citadel of a special interest.

Arthur Goldberg is not an elected official, not a labor politician, not the captive of involvements with either the hierarchy or the rank and file, not under pressure to position himself for re-election in union conventions, not beholden. He does have to worry about how his official actions might affect a union career when his Cabinet service ends. He does not have to scratch backs and roll logs and pussyfoot. He can fulfill his obligation to the wage earner and to the broad public interest at one and the same time.

The Secretary-designate has been special counsel for the AFL-CIO, which means that he is called in when

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his talents are needed. He is, one learns, not on a payroll and not on retainer. He is counsel for the United Steelworkers of America not by election, but by the choice of its executives. He is counsel for the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, which is a department, not a union. He rose to his positions because of legal talent, and he was recruited in the first place not by union patronage but because he is a very good lawyer and a brilliant man. He is so much a man in his own right that if the unions shouldn't like the way he runs his new office, he could kiss the unions goodbye and make his way in the world without them. The unions didn't make him. He has done much to make the unions what they are at the beginning of this new decade.

As to Mr. Goldberg the man, his compassionate interest in human beings is so real and spontaneous and strong that the wage earners can count upon him to look after their legitimate interests with all diligence. It is a dividend for them, the wage earners, that Mr. Goldberg enjoys such respect and confidence among employers, won not by appeasement but by the integrity of his acts as labor's representative. For the public interest, the dividend lies in the fact that as the object of respect and confidence on both sides of the table, Mr. Goldberg has all the greater chance of progress toward his goals of reducing the bitterness in labor-management relations, isolating the extremists on both sides, and consolidating a common ground for intelligent and reasonable men among employers and unionists.

His commitment to the labor movement is genuine, deep, and philosophical. The special merit of the appointment is that he has a mind which can view that commitment in context, and a personal independence which leaves him free to respect the context in honoring the commitment.

Freeman for the Farmers

When the appointment of Governor Orville Freeman of Minnesota as the new Secretary of Agriculture was announced, a Washington newspaper promptly dubbed him the Reluctant Dragon. He is more likely to be one of the most dramatic, news-generating, members of President-elect Kennedy's official family.

Members of the outgoing Administration have been congratulating themselves, in a quiet way, that they killed off or at least modified, the Kennedy farm program because Mr. Kennedy made only one full-dress speech on agricultural policy (at Sioux Falls) and did not repeat it after they released a statement of what they figured it would cost in higher food prices. Now they will have to think again, for insofar as any one politician could be called the author of that program,

NEXT WEEK: *Disarmament — Is the Khrushchev Proposal "Unthinkable"? by Keith Kyle*

Governor Freeman is. Early in 1959, he established a Minnesota Farm Policy Committee, drawing on the services of agricultural economists at Iowa State College, as well as the University of Minnesota. The recommendations of this Committee were subsequently distributed to Governors of Midwestern states a full year before the recent election. As in all agricultural formulations, the provisions of this proposal were stated in language almost as strange to outsiders as the wording of a doctor's prescription. The gist of it, however, is clear and is the basis of the Kennedy farm program.

Governor Freeman called for the establishment of a national food policy which would set production goals for the American farm industry as a whole. These should amount to the total of our requirement for domestic and export use, for welfare uses, for distribution to nations abroad under mutual security and economic development programs, and for stockpiling in national strategic reserves. Once such an over-all farm production goal has been determined, marketing or production allotments should be distributed on a graduated basis to individual farmers – *graduated* "to impose the largest proportional reduction in volume upon larger-than-family farm units." A comprehensive list of devices for stimulating as well as suppressing farm production, as required, was recommended. A novel feature was an enforcement provision with real teeth in it.

The other novelty in the policy recommendations of Governor Freeman's committee was an all-out attack on contract farming and vertical integration. These practices originated in the food-packing industry many years ago. Large canning concerns have long followed the practice of distributing seeds of special varieties of vegetables developed to their own specifications to growers under contract to deliver all of their output at enumerated prices to the particular cannery. This arrangement, with modifications, has spread widely to the poultry industry and is being tried out in other types of farm production. The increasing pressure behind it now comes from the supermarket chains as well as the food packers, who want to be assured of uniform quality and steady supplies of farm products.

The attack on contract farming reappeared in Governor Freeman's farm program study, "Managed

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Abundance in Food and Agriculture," which he presented in person to the House Committee on Agriculture in March, 1959. So did a root and branch attack on the current farm program. He endorsed without reservation Representative Poage's Family Farm Income Bill, then pending before the House, which was subsequently defeated by a combination of Republicans and Democrats. "I regard the Poage Bill," he testified, "as essential to a comprehensive program for agriculture. It should be enacted into law now. The need is urgent."

Since the next House will have more Republican members than the previous one, the new Secretary of Agriculture faces enough of a challenge to test even his mettle. He has courage to burn, and will need it.

Unrest In Ethiopia

Impatience is an attribute of youth, and therefore of Africa, and was a root cause of last week's unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Haile Selassie in Ethiopia. Even in countries which have had their revolution, such as Egypt, nothing is moving fast enough for young men who are avid for change but unacquainted with administrative responsibility, and this was the age-group which struck while Emperor Haile Selassie was out of the country.

Development in Ethiopia had been going very slowly, not because the Emperor is conservative or dilatory, but because he has tried to change things tranquilly, and knew that this entails preserving from sudden upsets an ancient social structure that has its advantages as well as its abuses. This conviction has meant giving office to elders who have never known hustle, and – more important – who are nervous of taking decisions the technical intricacies of which they do not fully understand. Ethiopia's main element – the Amharas – are a proud, highland, Christian people imbued with tradition and exclusiveness and more than usually mistrustful of foreigners. (A tourist is pounced on if he tries to take a photograph.) Many Amhara elders fear the advice of their advisers, and think it safer to do nothing. And so, in spite of his loans and grants and missions supplied by the US, the USSR, the Yugoslavs and others, a five-year plan inaugurated in 1956 is still at the blueprint stage. Another popular view is that too little has come of a Point Four program begun in 1952, apart from an invasion of 1,500 Americans who have sent city rents up.

Last week's flurry had some more immediate causes. Ethiopians have lately been stirred by the grant of independence to next-door Somalia, where young Somali progressives are thought to be having their fling; another disturbing factor has been Cairo radio, to which the lowland Moslems and Somalis listen, and which have been attacking the Emperor as old-fashioned. Further, the Congo affair has had a direct impact on opinion, since about half the Imperial Guard has been sent there as a United Nations contingent. But the attempted *coup* came as a complete surprise to most prophets, because all thought that loyalty would outweigh impatience for the rest of the lifetime of Haile Selassie – now aged 68.

For the Emperor is anything but a die-hard. He has always been a reformer, and is a successful one in the important fields of public security and of education. From the time of his regency in the 1920's, he struggled against the arch-conservative nobles who sought to keep the country feudal. Before the Italian invasion, he was almost the sole driving force behind the innovations he introduced. The Italians killed the flower of the young educated Amharas, but after his return from exile he ploughed on, sending hundreds of young men abroad for training. He is a neutralist, in that he accepts and seeks help from both West and East, particularly from the Yugoslavs. In the last seven years, he has had more than $100 million in grants and loans from the US, and a $100 million loan from the USSR; he has also had some $20 million over 10 years from the World Bank, chiefly for work on communications. One of his acts shortly before he left on his ill-starred Brazilian trip was to lay plans with our new Ambassador, Arthur L. Richards, for financing the building of a new national university.

The rebels were said to favor Selassie's eldest son, but a change of this kind would not necessarily bring about quicker results. It would be more likely to retard them, for much of the country remains faithful to an Emperor who has served it well, and domestic upheaval would mean further delay.

Thought for Christmas

Professor Jenkinson has brought to our attention an enterprising offer to keep the family together and make a little money at the same time by selling *The Family Shelter*, a 10-foot reinforced concrete hole in the ground. An ad in the December 2 *Palo Alto Times* (California) reads:

> "The Family Shelter Fallout Model may be acquired for less than $25 per month. The company will arrange financing to suit your needs. FHA and bank financing available with all Family Shelter Company installations."

For the budget-conscious, let it be noted that this is the only product on the market that releases one from all obligations for payment once the product is used.

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THE MEANING OF MOVING FORWARD – V

A Nuclear Test Ban

Mr. Kennedy has spoken of our having one last chance to reach agreement with the Russians on the cessation of nuclear testing. If the talks that will be resumed in Geneva shortly after the new Administration takes over are not our very last chance, they are near enough to compel our most sober attention. Although most discussion (and dispute) has so far focused on the technical feasibility of a ban, it is helpful first to examine, in a broader way, some of the likely costs and gains.

1. *The Nth Country Problem.* During the campaign, Mr. Kennedy indicated that the desire to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to Nth countries was the primary incentive for trying to reach an agreement with the Soviets. It is true that a test ban might substantially contribute to halting the proliferation of these weapons and that a resumption of testing would give tremendous impetus to their spread. A three-power test ban would not, however, in any sense "solve" the Nth country problem. France, China and Israel, for instance, may choose not to sign and to continue their independent nuclear programs.

2. *Limited Nuclear War.* A test ban would symbolize an understanding between East and West that nuclear weapons are henceforth unconventional; it would thereby decrease, though not eliminate, the likelihood of their being used in local conflicts. *The New Republic* has long argued that the United States should put much greater emphasis on conventional defense in Europe and in other areas. A test ban would accelerate this emphasis, lessening dependence on nuclear devices for national security. Nevertheless, the obstacles involved in getting NATO, for example, to adopt a conventional defense strategy should not be overlooked.

3. *World Opinion.* Uncommitted nations and large segments of the public in many Western states have demanded the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, under almost any conditions. The United States clearly should not accept any arms control proposal which is against its interests, merely in order to placate such opinion. At the same time, the high price which would be paid for resuming testing, in terms of alienating world sentiment, must be taken into account.

4. *A First Step.* The signing of a treaty would open the way for serious arms limitation and control negotiations. It would increase the chances of arriving at further agreements on the use of nuclear weapons and perhaps on more general arms control measures. Should the Geneva talks fail, whatever hopes exist for arms control would be drastically diminished.

The value of a test ban treaty to this country, assuming that the Russians don't cheat, is very great. That, at least, is the opinion of all except those to whom the continuous improvement of weapons is the absolute and overriding imperative, however great the risk. But what if the Russians do cheat? Mr. McCone of the AEC suspects they already are, and that therefore "it wouldn't be wise to wait" until June, 1961 to resume our underground testing. This fear of Soviet violation has been the crux of the controversy. Yet amidst all the argument about inspection techniques and the danger of violations, these statements seem incontrovertible:

a. Nuclear tests in or near the atmosphere, even of fairly small weapons, are easily detectable.

b. If no system of inspecting rocket vehicles before launching is instituted, clandestine testing of arbitrary yield can, in time, be conducted in outer space.

c. Clandestine testing of very high yield weapons underground will not be feasible, but the testing of small weapons will always escape detection. The range of tests which can be concealed underground will vary according to the technology of the moment, but some tests underground can never be detected.

These statements refer to the efficacy of any international inspection system that might be set up to police a test ban. Unilateral intelligence operations, however, are likely to provide significantly more information about any Russian attempts to cheat. But that perhaps is not enough to satisfy our security requirements. Let us then grasp the nettle and ask what the effect on our national security would be *should* the Russians successfully, clandestinely violate the ban? It is a question that is exceedingly difficult to evaluate without access to classified information and vast technical knowledge, but it can be said that the advantages that may be gained by further clandestine testing are these:

1. *Improved Tactical Weapons.* These would include very small bombs of a fraction of a kiloton, pure fusion weapons, and the so-called "anti-personnel" neutron bomb.

2. *Improved Strategic Weapons.* Further development

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here would improve the yield of any given size and weight weapon.

3. *Weapons Effects Information.* Information would be gained about the effects which nuclear weapons have on well-protected missile sites, on satellites, on missiles and on communication systems, etc.

To begin with, the new Administration should have before it as soon as possible a complete report on possible Soviet weapons development, *if* a test ban agreement were to be violated. Information now in the public domain suggests that the Soviets could *not* gain any overwhelming advantage by cheating, and that the US already has a sufficient tactical arsenal for all of its needs in limited warfare. Improvements in yield weight ratios for strategic weapons are not likely to be very significant, and information on weapons effects can be derived from small tests with high explosives and from theoretical studies. On balance, it seems reasonably certain that the slight advantages the Russians might gain from cheating are out-weighed by the potential benefits to them (and to us) of a test ban.

If this assessment is correct, the Kennedy Administration should consider promptly the following:

1. A decision should be made on the role of nuclear weapons in limited war. It is of highest importance that the Administration reverse the present policy of relying on nuclear forces to repel any conventional attack by the Soviet Union or China. By such reliance the US in effect risks being immobilized and helpless in the event of conventional aggression, because it dare not chance a nuclear holocaust.

2. The US should accept at Geneva the proposed treaty-moratorium combination. There will have to be further discussion of the composition of the control commission responsible for monitoring the ban to assure that "neutral" members are neutral and not susceptible to Soviet intimidation, but negotiations should not be allowed to break down over the number of on-site inspections to be permitted annually. The talks are now held up on the differences between 3 and 20 inspections. Both of these numbers were virtually pulled out of the air; and one hopes the new Administration will consider very carefully why 20 is felt to be enough and not three. Neither should the negotiations be allowed to collapse over the dispute about further testing to improve detection techniques or the length of a moratorium on underground tests. The Russians have argued for a moratorium on small tests of four to five years; the US has suggested 27 months. Both sides have discussed the period in terms of how long it would take to improve detection methods. A compromise between two and five years would seem reasonable. Moreover, as has been pointed out, the testing of small weapons underground can never be eliminated by any detection system, and in any case testing underground would not appear to affect seriously our security. However, in accepting a test cessation agreement which does not provide for a high reliability of inspection, the US should make clear to the Russians that it is doing so only because in this particular case complete inspection is not essential, and that the US is not thereby abandoning its insistence on *adequate* inspection of arms control.

3. France and Communist China should be invited to join the talks. This decision should not be deferred a day longer than necessary. Chinese participation would present interesting complications for the Russians which they might rather not face in such a setting; yet it is hard to imagine the Russians opposing such an invitation to their "ally." De Gaulle's conditions for coming to Geneva would certainly include a sharing of atomic information and devices and a measure of collective control over the use of atomic weapons. But it is not an exorbitant demand when one considers that French involvement now would strengthen de Gaulle's hand at home and would (if the Chinese also are brought in) assure that any treaty that is signed would apply to all the powers that now have or will soon have the capacity to test.

("One of the first things I would do," said John F. Kennedy in an *NR* interview published on June 27, "is bring Communist China into the nuclear test ban negotiations. . . .")

4. The new President should candidly explain to the American people that a test ban is desirable because, after the most hard-headed examination, it is in the political and military interests of the US. He should stress that the concluding of a single agreement on testing between the United States and the Soviet Union does not signify the end of the Cold War or the elimination of the Sino-Soviet military threat to the West. He should likewise make clear that arms control *and* military strength are parts of the same effort to defend the non-Communist world. While the government may, from time to time, find it possible to conclude an arms limitation agreement with the Soviet, military force by no means ceases to be a prime component of security.

5. The new Administration will in all probability choose as head of the United States disarmament agency a vigorous and competent man. But that is only the beginning. Thereafter, there must be instituted large-scale studies of the strategic and political implications of arms control, as well as the technical feasibility of various proposals. The national security over the coming years will require a thorough-going and persistent search for ways of slowing down the arms race and for radically reducing our dependence on nuclear force.

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Ben-Hur Made It

The mystery of the year is the quality by virtue of which John F. Kennedy can persuade first-class men to accept what are generally esteemed second-class jobs.

It first became manifest when he persuaded Lyndon Johnson to run for Vice President, but after Harry S. Truman's experience that could be discounted as a gamble on fate. Not so the appointment of Mennen Williams, another Presidential aspirant, to be merely an assistant secretary; that was plainly due to Kennedy's persuasive powers. It became startling when Adlai E. Stevenson went to the United Nations and Chester Bowles accepted an Under-Secretaryship. One begins to suspect that this man is more than good, that he is an 18-carat magician.

It is, of course, highly creditable to the men involved that they are willing to serve in relatively subordinate positions after having quaffed the intoxicant of national prominence. It is a reversion to the fine patriotism of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Johnson who, after having been President, did not disdain election, one to the House, the other to the Senate.

But after that has been entered on the record it is still evident that Kennedy has some very potent trait that appeals to men of high calibre. Stevenson, Johnson, Bowles and Williams all have hard-earned reputations of their own. None of them can afford to be associated, voluntarily, with an Administration that they believe will be characterized by feeble and faltering leadership, especially when they will be in positions in which their influence on policy will be secondary, at most. Yet they have all lined up, and the fact is eloquent of Kennedy's power of persuasion.

It is eloquent of another facet of his personality that his immediate entourage may not care to emphasize. This is his nerve. Anybody can drive a multiple team of plugs, but it takes Ben-Hur to hitch to his chariot the most powerful and spirited horses that the country can supply. Any President who fills the subordinate offices with first-rate men is risking a runaway and a probably fatal spill; he will do it only if he has great confidence in his own ability to handle the reins.

Strong men are not notably amiable characters. As a rule they are cantankerous, and frequently they are insubordinate. A President who surrounds himself with them is either going to abdicate his own authority, or he is going to live a hard life, plagued by incessant uproars and frequently under fire from both sides. Witness Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Nothing in his career to date suggests that Kennedy intends to abdicate, so the reasonable inference is that Ajax defying the lightning had nothing on him.

However, if you want speed you have to have power. After all, Ben-Hur made it, still right side up. Perhaps Kennedy will, too, even though in the process he makes

> Each particular hair to stand on end,
> Like quills upon the fretful porpentine,

and if he does, that's that. Indeed, after the race the winner is thanked, rather than criticized for the thrills he afforded.

Anyhow, why cavil? Kennedy may be taking off with a load of dynamite, but we have had eight years of official tranquility and what is the net result? Gold going out and Castro coming in. An occasional barroom brawl, such as used to enter the country when Ickes and Wallace and Jesse Jones and Hopkins and Hull were earnestly practicing mayhem on each other would certainly be a change and perhaps a refreshing change.

More than that, there is a fair chance that vigor and intelligence in Washington, even if attended by uproars, may repair the shattered prestige of this country and restore to us the leadership of the free nations. It is far too early as yet to make any confident predictions, but nothing done so far has destroyed the hope and the evidence that Kennedy has no taste for the second-rate, even if the first-rate invites trouble.

For it is when the people lose interest in the conduct of public affairs that government begins to become corrupt, as Jefferson warned us long ago; and the people are always interested when the show is a good one. A really good show cannot be composed exclusively of sweetness and light. It may be deplorable, but people are always interested when suspicion is rife that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of the Interior harbor murderous designs on each other and that nine members of the Cabinet are more than half prepared to lynch the Secretary of State.

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Patrick O'Donovan

The Archbishop's Quest

The journey of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Jerusalem, Istanbul and Rome was a pilgrimage in search of a "unity of spirit" in Christendom

Rome

The Archbishop of Canterbury's triad of visits to Jerusalem, Istanbul and Rome has been part pilgrimage and part a very English and empirical attempt to find out what is practical in the matter of cooperation between the separated brethren of Christendom. Dr. Fisher's was religious exploration at its most tentative and boldest and bravest.

The Roman call, because it was unprecedented since the Reformation and, indeed, since Thomas Arundel went *ad limina* to complain of Richard II, has attracted the most attention.

In fact, in ecclesiastical politics the Roman visit has been of towering importance. It is clear that the Archbishop is aiming at an arrangement, almost a sort of concordat, with the Pope. He has done the same with other faiths and would be happy to do so with more.

He wants to achieve a practical cooperation, a dialogue rather than a continuation of controversy, which would be based on the idea that both sides are in good faith. He wants gradually to create a "unity of spirit," a basis of sympathy, out of which practical agreements might grow.

The agreement could be gossamer soft and razor-blade thin, but it would serve. No treaties anywhere are worth their paper without this unity, and if it were achieved it could conceivably lead further. Whether it could lead to a communion of the Churches, to a genuine sacramental union, he did not foresee, hardly looked forward to, was prepared to leave contentedly to his successors and to God.

The meeting with the Pope was an informal meeting between religious leaders. It was friendly and gentle and neither committed himself nor acted as head of State at a summit. The details of the meeting are not known. That it happened at all is significant enough. Of real importance, too, was the Archbishop's unscheduled afternoon visit in Rome to Cardinal Bea.

Cardinal Bea is a German Jesuit of 79. He looks like a retired headmaster who has yet somehow maintained a kindly heart. He is tall and stooping and is now head of the Commission for the Promotion of Christian Unity.

The visit mattered because the Commission, founded in May, 1960, has been charged by the Pope to act as liaison office with the non-Roman Churches. It is to be a listener, an interpreter and a suggester of innovations. One of its two English members is Dr. Heenan, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool.

For the Vatican this Commission is a startling new thing and is evidence of the direction of the Pope's mind. To Cardinal Bea the Archbishop of Canterbury offered the cooperation of Lambeth and the Cardinal offered the services of his Commission. They, too, parted friends and uncommitted.

It is apparent that there exists both in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches the same sort of yearning for a measure of cooperation. It lives strongly only in an important minority in each. The yearning is not exclusively spiritual in either. The world outside the Churches grows colder and colder and the Churches are the minority. How tragic, then, how imprudent, as well as how unchristian, to stay divided! And this hunger and fear have changed the ecumenical movement from being the preserve of eccentric or independent intellectuals to becoming an integral part of both Churches.

In France many priests and monasteries will lend their altars to Anglicans for the celebration of Communion, believing that the things in common outweigh the differences. In the city of Rome such casual discipline is not allowed. In England it arouses distaste. There are historical reasons for this. The Tudor officers of the British Crown made attendance at the reformed parish church the acid test of acceptance of the Act of Supremacy. To attend a non-Catholic church was therefore to apostasize. And the tradition still lives among the Roman Catholics in England.

But it does seem that the Pope, through his long stay in France, from his experience of Muslim countries and his closeness to Communist frontiers as a Papal diplomat, has been touched by the ecumenical movement. There is certainly opposition to it inside the Vatican.

As in any civil service which is also the court of a ruling prince, a court upon which public opinion has virtually no effect, maneuvering and delicate intrigue

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take place. It is the inevitable weapon that dignitaries use to promote what they believe to be right.

Such goings on are, of course, subject to more hostile interpretations. Reports of what happens within the Vatican are more widespread in Rome and even less reliable than those of the conduct of the Royal Family in England. But it is known that the chief conservatives are Cardinal Tardini, the Cardinal Secretary of State, and Cardinal Ottaviani, the head of the Holy Office. They are men of great power and singleness of mind; they regard too overt an ecumenicalism with practiced suspicion.

Probably because of them the Archbishop's visit was accompanied by a notable lack of conventional publicity. Not only were there none of the usual photographs of the Pope and his visitor together, but photographers were barred from the vast piazza of St. Peter's, which is Vatican territory. And some have taken the absence of public relations facilities as discourtesy. The official Vatican explanation is that they did not wish to embarrass the Archbishop with publicity since his visit was not one of purely routine courtesy. But it was evidence of a curious sort of first-night nervousness.

Whatever the reason, the fact remains that final power lies with the Pope. He can override his entire college of cardinals and all his civil service. To do this needs vigor and continuity. If he fails in health or will, if he dies, then all depends wholly upon his successor. Pope John has decided on a Vatican Council (an "ecumenical council" to the Romans). It will probably convene in the spring of 1962. Cardinal Bea's Commission is apparently a part of this and the Commission grows thereby in importance.

The projected council is unique. Past councils have been summoned to promulgate a doctrine or to combat a heresy or an evil tendency. This second Vatican council is apparently concerned with the domestic affairs of the Church. The modernization of its disciplines, incidental rules and of its structure is long overdue. It is hard to see how its relations with its separated brethren can fail to intrude.

The area of possible change within its principles is surprisingly large. The council could allow convert clergymen to be reordained as Roman priests and yet keep and cohabit with their wives. That affects no point of doctrine. A vernacular mass could be approved for the English-speaking world and even a local liturgy allowed. There is little demand for this. The rules for strictly enclosed religious orders, particularly for nuns, could be relaxed to bring them more into the world. The rules about fasting and abstinence and cremation, about remarriage after an unsuccessful mixed marriage, could be radically changed.

The bishops all over the world have sent in their suggestions and they are being collated. This process is nearly over. It has not yet been decided if representatives of other faiths should be sent as observers. If and when the council meets its proceedings will be formal and in Latin. As in most legislatures the real work will have been done in committee.

The rows of prelates in copes and white mitres will not re-enact the confusion that was the Vatican Council of 1870. That council which was ill-prepared, declared the doctrine of infallibility and leaked the proceedings to the press as freely and as unreliably as a Congressional committee. This time the preparations are elaborate and those taking part are sworn to secrecy. The council remains an enigma.

But change of a sort is in the air. The most that can be said is that some are getting ready for a limited social and political cooperation – and that is still an eternity away from full communion.

It is just conceivable that the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury might one day attend midnight mass in a chair of honor in Roman Catholic Westminster Cathedral. It is just conceivable that a Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster might attend a Coronation seated in an Abbey stall. It is not now conceivable that they should offer the holy sacrifice at each other's altars or receive the Sacrament ever from each other's hands.

They differ fundamentally about the nature of the Church. Canterbury is the custodian of the tradition of the English Reformation. This was more than a negative revolt against the spiritual domination of a foreign Power. It was affirmation of the idea that Holy Writ and a man's conscience before God are the only final authorities. Hence the many aspects of Protestantism.

The Catholic view is the opposite – that God created a single Church, specially endowed it and gave its keys to the successors of Peter. There can be no bargaining with other Churches as it were between equals. Reunion is not a real question because there is no disunity. The Church has always been one and indivisible as well as holy and apostolic. Non-Catholics are not members of the Church. If reunion means anything it means return to the Mother. Those outside the Church are simply in error. They are not thereby damned; they must be treated with charity; they are under the uncovenanted mercies of God.

Dr. Fisher has shown himself clinically aware of all this. At no time has he expressed any woolly optimism or compromised on essentials. He speaks of the Pope as an equal both before God and as an admitted head of a communion. To anyone prepared to listen he has been cautious, clear, never polemical, and he has been constructive. His ideas will not be ignored, at least by the new liberals of the Roman Church.

But that cooperation and courtesy and a spiritual affection can exist between separated communions was demonstrated in Istanbul. The Patriarch of Constanti-

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nople does not recognize the validity of Anglican orders. (The whole question is obscure and controversial and damnably dangerous for a reporter. The Orthodox recoil with distaste from the exactitude of Rome, from its passion for exactitude and definitions as well as from its ritual which, to them, is almost Methodist in its austerity.) Patriarch and Archbishop agreed to a reopening of theological talks. These are to be held with representatives of the whole Orthodox Church not, as before, with parts of it. This is contingent upon a pan-Orthodox conference to be convened on the island of Rhodes before the Vatican Council meets.

But in Istanbul the definitions were laid aside and the Archbishop was invited to attend the solemn celebration of the liturgy of their patron St. Andrew in the poor church of the Phanar. The Phanar is a plaster chapel in a slum. Its candlesticks lean, ikons are as dark as old shoes, stove pipes compete with Victorian chandeliers for air space and yet it is the direct and indisputable heir of St. Sophia, the most splendid church that men ever built. The Patriarchs here were the pontiffs of the Byzantine Empire, and by an episcopal standard they take second precedence in Christendom.

His All Holiness Athenagoras the First celebrated the liturgy. He is old and tall and straight and huge and vigorous and splendid and an overpowering personality. His beard is white and long and he is the only cleric in Turkey under the rules of Ataturk still allowed to wear it unclipped in the Orthodox manner. He would go to Canterbury or America or Rome if he were asked and could somehow find the money to pay the fare.

His church was crowded. Two galleries, one above the other, could not have held another Christian. They stood for nearly three hours, most with nothing to see, only to hear the liturgy, the fierce, joyful hymns, and the splendid chant. Canterbury in his Coronation cope and mitre was conducted to a throne in the choir.

The Orthodox priests, still in robes of imperial splendor, went through the slow and beautiful liturgy. The Patriarch appeared at the door of the Eikonastasis to bless or cense the people and to show them the species that were to be changed. He consecrated under a trembling veil held up by priests. And the Patriarch and the deacons and the choir took their turns to keep the church full of the throat-straining chant and singing.

When it was over the two prelates faced each other on thrones across the choir. The Patriarch stood crowned leaning on a snake-topped staff. They made formal speeches in the packed church with the congregation crowded in to touching distance. They were helped down into the well of the choir. Happily they kissed each other three times and Canterbury was given yet another pectoral ikon. It was splendid to look at and better to think of. We left Dr. Fisher on the steps of his throne with an endless queue of Greeks pressing forward to kiss his ring.

There is even now close if untheological cooperation with the Orthodox. If they agree among themselves, Canterbury may get not communion but at least a concordat. All he has done in Rome was to seek the same off the Romans. It is just – only just – possible that he or his successors may get even that. But neither with the Orthodox nor with the Latins would it yet be true union.

[From The Observer, December 4, 1960]

Great Expectations

by Jean Daniel

Paris

I have just returned from a trip to Africa and Europe, on the basis of which I conclude that Americans do not fully appreciate the extent to which President-elect John F. Kennedy has aroused expectations that often are almost desperate in their intensity. Political leaders, businessmen, university people with whom I was able to talk concluded, nine times out of ten, with the words: "We shall see if Kennedy can . . .," or, "There is barely time for Kennedy to . . .," etc. The justified warnings which Mr. Kennedy voiced during his campaign on the decline in US prestige were gratefully noted in Europe as well as in Africa, and they gave rise to hopes, sometimes rather immoderate, in the most diverse places.

It must be admitted that these hopes were somewhat dampened by Kennedy's failure in his TV debates with Richard Nixon to specify with any precision just what he would do to render American policies more effective and enhance US prestige, dampened also by the realization that the new President might repeat some of the mistakes of the past, as for example, in Cuba. There has been concern too over the narrow margin of Kennedy's victory, as a result of which, it is believed in Europe, he will be obliged to carry over into his Administration certain men and methods from the previous Adminis-

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tration. This close balance between the two big American parties is being anxiously analyzed: If so many people voted for Nixon, this must mean that the American people are still blind to their destiny, to their own shortcomings, and to the way the rest of the world is developing. The scrutiny is demanding and severe. Government leaders have said to me: "Well, yes, we agree – for years we have accepted the leadership of an all-powerful United States; but this leadership imposes certain duties. Instead, in Europe, in Africa, and especially, right at their doorstep in South America, the Americans are falling behind." These are not the despairingly complacent remarks of intellectuals, capable only of indulging in erudite and unrealistic criticisms. These are the remarks of lucid, responsible men who are quick to appreciate any positive American gesture that is made. Thus, the fact that the first Chief of State to whom Kennedy granted an interview was the Brazilian President Quadros, was greeted with enthusiasm.

What, more concretely, is expected from John F. Kennedy abroad? Above all, it is hoped that he will show that he understands the complete and radical transformation in the evolution of our world, and that he will systematically reverse current trends in America. How? By taking a strong and dramatic stand on such key questions as: Communist China, Cuba, the form of future foreign aid, US policy toward neutral nations, US strategic bases abroad which have triggered either the onset of Communism or disorder, wherever they were imposed without the support of native leaders.

To my great surprise, the viewpoint which I have tried to summarize was expressed, generally speaking, by observers who up to just a few years ago had been loyally pro-American and who today are still fundamentally hostile to Communism. Quite spontaneously and with surprising unanimity these men and women have arrived at the same conclusions as those in the book of C. Wright Mills, *Listen Yankee*. When I passed on to them the observations of Wright Mills on Cuba and South America, and when I told them that *Listen Yankee* had sold as high as about 200,000 copies, they were somewhat reassured: If the "Kennedy elite corps" is beginning to understand what is really going on in Cuba, then perhaps the US is on the way to a realistic policy with regard to China and defense bases.

Then too, in Europe, we have that oh-so-familiar problem which serves as a touchstone for judgments of American policies, even though it is a problem never, or almost never, brought up in the US. I refer to Spain. Everyone knows that in 1945 Franco was saved by the British and the Americans, and that thereafter Spain became virtually an economic colony of the United States, nourished by it more or less in the same fashion as is Saudi Arabia. But less well known is the fact that about two-thirds of American capital aid to Spain is at present kept in Swiss banks, because the interest groups and the Spanish trusts to whom this aid was granted preferred to tuck their capital away in a safe place rather than invest it in their wretched country. The day that Franco falls, if the US has not in the meanwhile radically altered its policy, it will be difficult indeed to save the Spanish people from Communism and to convince them that the West has its welfare at heart. In Greece, in Turkey, and in Iran the same scandals are being repeated. Is public opinion in America informed about this?

Does American public opinion realize that for millions of the people being "protected" by the West, fear of Communism is far less acute than fear of misery? The average American seems not to understand why so many Europeans and Africans and Asiatics and Latin Americans do not wish to take advantage of the opportunity afforded them of being helped by the US to resist Soviet-Chinese pressures. And yet the answer is simple: most of these people have never seen the Soviet-Chinese dictatorship in action, whereas they witness day in and day out the effects of a certain kind of American aid.

I believe it to be the duty of the friends of Kennedy, of Dean Rusk, of Chester Bowles and Adlai Stevenson, to get this out in the open, starting right now, before January 20 – to cry aloud that the US is on a precipice, and that if it goes over the edge it may drag a great part of the world with it. Yet all may be saved, even now. There is still time, time to accept the reality of China, accept it as it is and not as one would like it to be. There is still time at least to attempt some reconciliation with Castro. There is still time to demand of those who are being aided by America less servile proof of their anti-Communism and more evidence of honesty and competence.

This is what the world hopes for from John F. Kennedy's Administration.

> "In England Kennedy at 43 could be old and tired, having put in many years at the Ministry of Agriculture and the Board of Trade before becoming Prime Minister. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that under our parliamentary system Nixon would ever have become the leader of a party. Much more than in most elections, the American electorate was offered a clear choice, and it is fortunate for the non-Communist world that it made the right decision. America under a Kennedy Administration is going to be an exciting place, and, under him, the free world should stop losing the Cold War."
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> – IAN GILMOUR, *The Spectator*, November 11, 1960.

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The Moral Passion of a Fanatic

by Victor Lange

Kleist was one of the two or three most original German writers of the early 19th Century, perhaps the most powerful dramatist of the Goethe period, the author of a handful of short stories that are remarkable for their taut narrative technique, and a human being of remarkable intellectual passion who took his own life at an early age in despair over the irreconcilable antinomies of the spirit. His effect upon subsequent German literature has been considerable: his philosophical concerns have stirred Kantians, Hegelians and existentialists alike, and without his brilliantly executed plays neither Buechner nor Hebbel nor, indeed, the expressionist dramatists could have relied on immediately persuasive models. Wherever German prose has pushed through its instinctive compulsions towards wide-arched romantic vistas and achieved the sort of precision and resilience that we find in Nietzsche or Karl Kraus, the influence of Kleist's hard and charged sentences is obvious.

The Marquise of O . . .
by Heinrich von Kleist
translated by Martin Greenberg
preface by Thomas Mann
(Criterion; $5)

Not much of Kleist's work has so far been readily available in adequate English translations. The French have done better: a few years ago his plays were performed in Paris with immense success, and his fiction has become part of the literary stock-in-trade of the new novelists. Mr. Martin Greenberg has now splendidly translated all eight of Kleist's stories, an immensely difficult task considering the stylistic intricacies of a prose which is not (like so much German writing), diffuse, long-winded and involved, but rather tightly compressed in sentence patterns of formidable, yet absolutely transparent complexity. The title story of the new collection, "The Marquise of O . . ." contains a characteristic sentence of some 25 lines consisting of a brief introductory statement ("letting go the lady's hand, the Count sat down and said that he was forced to be very brief . . .") and then giving, in fourteen staccato dependent clauses, the reasons for a most unexpected proposal of marriage. It is above all this stylistic intensity and this ruthless demand upon the reader's attention that irritated Kleist's romantic contemporaries; but it is this same uncompromising severity of organization which has appealed to the prose-writers of our own time: Kafka and Brecht counted Kleist among their favorite models. Revealing speech and deliberate reticence are in Kleist's writing remarkably intertwined: one of the most dramatic opening passages in German literature is the beginning of "The Earthquake in Chile": "In Santiago, the capital of the kingdom of Chile, at the very moment of the great earthquake of 1647 in which thousands of lives were lost, a young Spaniard by the name of Jeronimo Rugera, who had been locked up on a criminal charge, was standing against a prison pillar about to hang himself." This extreme precision of statement is the first and most striking characteristic of Kleist's art. It explains his fondness for the retelling of current anecdotes in a minimum of space and with an unerring ear for the smallest gestures of language. For, in Kleist's stories and plays, language is not so much a means of psychological explication as of dramatic strategy; it is for him part of a ritual of definition rather than of self-reflection. To make the elusive tangible and to force the reader into an awareness within himself of the terrifying potentialities of good and evil, these are Kleist's ever-present concerns.

Psychology and morality are in these stories firmly and even aggressively linked: there is something quite old-fashioned about Kleist's preoccupation with the show of moral energies in terms of speech and action. Like his contemporary E.T.A. Hoffmann or, a little later, E. A. Poe, he holds to an 18th-Century view of the narrative figure as a proving-ground of angelic strength and satanic violence. In "The Foundling" for instance, an extraordinary story of tartuffian evil, the adopted son seduces his young stepmother and is himself killed by his foster-father whose hatred of the deception in his son is so absolute that he refuses Holy Communion before his own execution: he wants to find the scoundrel in Hell to take up his revenge which he could only partly satisfy in this life. His execution is three times delayed by Papal edict and Kleist shows him in the end, cursing the inhuman law that kept him from going to Hell.

This radicalism of the moral passion gives to Kleist's stories a tremendous and compelling force of Greek terror as well as modern depth: like Euripides or Kafka he is unremittingly intent on demonstrating at once the omnipresence of the law and its awesome destructiveness where its claims upon society become absolute. This is the theme of the "Earthquake in Chile," a superbly tragic tale in which two lovers are condemned to die for their illicit relationship, when an earthquake turns the Chilean capital into rubble. The lovers are miraculously freed, they seek and find each other in the ruins of the town and are once again accepted by their former accusers. The evil of bigotry has apparently passed, and they are moved to offer thanks in the cathedral. But a fierce sermon on the guilt and depravity of the town stirs the people to fanatical action. The lovers are recognized, and blamed for the divine judgment; they and their companions are slain, only their child remains, to be brought up by a friend who lost his own infant in the slaughter.

There is no more moving scene in

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Kleist's work than the momentary suspense of hatred and inhumanity amid the rubble of the devastated city, a fantasy of idyllic beauty, profoundly convincing in its abstract unreality, already overshadowed by the horror that is to come in the name of moral pride and deluded passion.

The conflict between the pure vision of the law and blind obedience to its pragmatic and absurd demands is most impressively developed in what is perhaps Kleist's best-known novella, "Michael Kohlhaas." Kohlhaas is a quiet, well-to-do citizen who finds himself involved in a seemingly-trifling incident – the horses which he is taking to be sold are, on his way, held as security for a tax which is unreasonably imposed upon him. When he returns with the money to redeem the horses they have been ruined. He sues for justice but finds himself frustrated by an endless series of evasions and breaches of the law. Gradually he becomes fanatical, gathers a band of followers around him, and proceeds to take the law into his own hands. He is arrested, his case is tried, he wins satisfaction, his horses are returned and his enemy is put in prison. But for his own banditry he is himself condemned to death and executed. He dies in the conviction of having restored the pure image of the law, his moral integrity is confirmed, he does willing penance for the wrong he himself did.

Although Kleist is an objective storyteller there is more than a touch of the melodramatic about his tales. This is, we must suspect, the price which any high-strung writer has to pay who attempts to exemplify rigorously authentic emotional or moral positions with actions that remain just barely within the conventional but border precariously on the absurd. French critics such as Taine have often deplored this abrupt violence in Kleist; but Kleist was quite aware of his lack of urbanity. His violence was for him the same calculated risk that we have come to accept in novelists such as Dostoevsky – a writer of equal intellectual fury but far inferior artistic self-discipline.

"The Marquise of O . . ." shocks by the convulsive turns of the plot and puzzles by its extreme reticence when it comes to psychological revelation. Little wonder that the German prose writers of the twenties – were profoundly indebted to Kleist. Their concerns coincided with his: to show and test not so much individual and peculiarly interesting states of mind as an extreme awareness of the tragic compulsions in the human being towards good and evil alike.

Thomas Mann, whose essay on Kleist and his stories prefaces the present volume, sees in this groping for a sense of radical justice an element of special relevance to our time. This is certainly one of the reasons for Kleist's recent popularity in Europe. But his attempted vision of an absolute law would for us hardly be plausible if it were merely the reflection of a psychopathic fanatic such as Kleist appears to have been. It is rather his meticulous artistry and his conviction that the law in its purest form can only be represented in images of precise aesthetic coherence that makes Kleist such an astonishingly modern writer. The violence, the terror and the mystery of Kleist's plots are, within the form of the novella, controlled quite as carefully as they are in Kafka's parables. "The Duel" contains perhaps the most powerful statement of Kleist's desperate recognition of the elusiveness of the truth. After all, asks the character whose innocence seems denied by his defeat in a medieval trial by combat, "what obliges the supreme wisdom of the divinity even at the moment of our most fervent prayer to reveal and pronounce the truth?"

Kafka certainly shares with Kleist the pre-occupation with the unremitting demands of the absolute to which we must evidently submit without ever being able to acquiesce in its impenetrable logic. Kleist's most moving statement of this paradoxical dependence upon the "law" is in his celebrated essay on the "Marionette Theater," a brief philosophical narrative, which one would almost wish to see included in this volume, and to which readers of the short stories should by all means turn. The human analogy to the naïvely balanced puppet is not, Kleist argues there, in the primitive and instinctive life; we cannot return to the state before the Fall, but must eat again from the tree of knowledge in order to gain in consciousness what we have lost in innocence.

Kleist's stories all revolve around this passionate wish to assert in the most deliberate act of artistry, the reality of his vision of the truth. He is not merely the most disciplined German romantic but one of the European masters of the tragic narrative.

Eagle and Sparrow

The eagle's tessitura lies beyond
the reach of any human will or voice,
thus not to be defiled by my hyperboles,
for which the common sparrow must suffice.

Yet that bird's very meagreness suggests
the thatchings of a truth the other leaves
behind him in his fierce swoop to the sun.
The sparrow stays domestic to our eaves.

So when we lie with dawnlit lovers, he
is busy already, a part of what we know,
and like us, was not made to range the slopes
of Andean splendors, drifts of abstract snow.

Why, then, waking alone, do I think of you
like an eagle whose beak has torn my sleep in two?

Kenneth Pitchford

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What Kind of Free Enterprise?

by Paul Mattick

American capitalism is called many things – "the welfare state," "people's capitalism," "creeping socialism," and so forth. According to Paul K. Crosser it is a kind of "mixed economy" wherein private capitalism has been joined by state capitalism. He doesn't mean a mere co-existence of private and public sectors of the economy, but the continuous transfer of fiscal funds for use by individual entrepreneurs and corporations in industry, farming, and foreign commerce.

State Capitalism in the Economy of the United States
by Paul K. Crosser
(Bookman; $4)

In a remarkably clear and concise critical interpretation of classical and neoclassical market theories, Crosser shows that the *laissez-faire* argument is basically a metaphysical proposition and that the "capitalist economy is bound to malfunction if intervention is not attempted and realized." Such state interventions today are likely in the form of subsidies to industrial production. During the period following World War II for instance, more than half of the tax income of the United States has been used to finance private enterprise. The tax money poured into private industry by way of defense contracts is about equal "to the amount of net capital formation in all United States industry, as represented by the rate of United States annual industrial expansion." In brief, "private enterprise has become, in its most significant phase – the phase of capital formation – a state financed enterprise, and thus presents a blatant example of state capitalist experience."

In the state capitalist war economy, Crosser points out, economic crisis, *i.e.*, the lack of effective demand, has not been overcome but merely been sidetracked, since war production falls outside the market system. He fears that without extensive armaments production, the economy would be imperiled, for it is highly improbable that even the largest public works program will have the same economic effectiveness as war goods production. "It is the dual role in which the major war contractors function as durable goods producers and war goods contractors which provides a concentrated and highly effective economic injection that assures the maintenance of high production and employment levels in the most crucial economic sector – the durable goods sector – on which continuous prosperity of the American economy depends."

State capitalism, or "the privatization of public finance," is the opposite of "nationalization," or "socialization," which transforms industry from private to public ownership. Of course, even in the state-capitalist economy, industries may be owned and operated by government as, for example, in the atomic energy program of the United States. But even here, it is assumed that sooner or later the atomic plants will be turned over to private interests and the "privatization of the peacetime use of atomic energy will be brought about by making the results of government-financed research available to private owners." State capitalism, in short, is the utilization of state power and fiscal policy to secure the further profitable existence of private big business.

But state subsidies benefit other groups besides big business, even though the latter does get the lion's share, because medium and small-scale businesses are often sustained by subcontracts which they secure from the large-scale producer. Foreign commerce is underwritten by means of tax dollars for financing private enterprise abroad. Although such aid, through the Marshall Plan for instance, is given to governments, its actual use is turned over to owners of factories and private trade establishments, which constitutes an "extension of American state capitalist practices into foreign lands." Subsidization of American agriculture is not quite so large.

Through the transferring of public funds to private sectors of the economy, the government becomes the co-determiner of the range of private income generated in private enterprise, *i.e.*, the range of profits, wages, rent and interest. This co-determination implies a contest between different economic groups for the share of the national income, and this involves a redistribution of income. This redistribution of income consists, in Crosser's view, "to a large extent, of a shifting of tax money from non-subidized sectors of the economy to the subsidized section of the economy."

Crosser accepts contemporary state capitalism as more desirable than a full-blown authoritarian, or fascist, kind of state capitalism. Apparently, he believes it possible to maintain it for some time to come. It is obvious, however, that the redistribution of income – the shifting of tax money from non-subsidized to subsidized sectors of the economy – can work only so long as a large enough part of the economy is profitable enough to compensate for the lack of self-generated profitability in other parts. But with the continuous subsidization of big business and, via big business, of small business, with foreign aid to prop up and develop private economies abroad, and with farm subsidies in perpetuity, the burden of subsidization for the still-solvent businesses and for the laboring population is bound to become greater.

Moreover, subsidies are financed not only through taxation but also through budget deficits covered by loans. The loans and concurring interests must be paid and can be paid only by way of taxation and new loans. All this must

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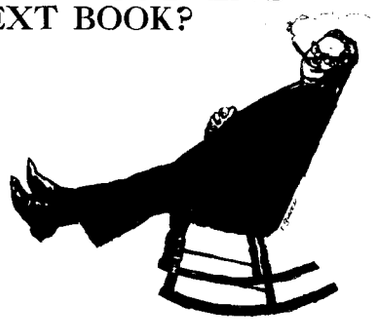

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again come out of private production. For government cannot subsidize anything; it can only assure that one part of the economy subsidizes another part, that socially-available profits are distributed in such a manner as to enable the prevailing society to function. Government-induced production is largely non-profitable waste production. The continuous subsidization of one part of the economy by another is possible only by a sufficient increase of productivity, and how much productivity can rise cannot be predicted. It is clear that our slow rate of economic growth and the increasing difficulties in the way of external economic expansion indicate a loss of profitability which must affect both the subsidized and nonsubsidized sectors of the economy. It is for this reason, perhaps, that Crosser rejects the theory of the Affluent Society and finds contemporary capitalism deficient in both its public and private sectors.

However, Crosser does not deal with the inherent economic contradictions of state capitalism, *i.e.*, with the question as to whether or not it will always be possible to subsidize nonprofitable through profitable production. An increasing need for subsidization may well come to exceed the government's power of taxation and lead to a situation where only the expropriation of private capital could guarantee a rate of production and economic growth compatible with social stability. It is his privilege, however, to stop short at a certain point of social analysis and to end his book by stating the conditions necessary to maintain the nonauthoritarian state capitalist *status quo*.

Nightmares and Irresponsibilities

by Donald Hall

Randall Jarrell is not incompetent. He doesn't use outrageously inappropriate diction, or mix his metaphors madly, or make noises which grate on the ear like chalk on a blackboard. It is true that his diction is never particularly interesting, nor his metaphors inventive. He is scornful of meter (he writes poems in iambic pentameter and inserts random Alexandrines), and he uses clichés ("an uncontrollable / Shudder runs through her flesh"). But I don't think that one can condemn him on this evidence alone. The poet must control the feeling in the poem; Jarrell lacks control, not over the precision of form, but over his feelings. One senses that when he uses clichés he knows it, but that he uses them anyway, with a kind of defiance. One senses a poet who might prefer Life to Art as if he were making a useful distinction. Usually the writer with a contempt for art simply proclaims his own incompetence; he adopts a sentimental argument in order to proclaim as choice what is really necessity. With Jarrell, I feel that the contempt exists as a principle, not as an excuse. And I feel that his clichés are a function of his radical sentimentality.

The Woman at the Washington Zoo
by Randall Jarrell
(Atheneum; $3.75)

He uses emotions whose sources he does not acknowledge. Sometimes his language makes this particularly obvious. In the title poem of this book, which contains many laments over the loss of youth and so on, the woman is looking at the animals. Jarrell has her say: "And there come not to me, as come to these, / The wild beasts . . ."

The self-pity of the first line, with its arch inversion, is not ironical. Jarrell is *for* the woman, not against her. And yet he shows her attitudinizing, as if she were rehearsing before a mirror.

But perhaps it would be fairer to take a more celebrated example. "The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner," one of the war poems which granted Jarrell his reputation, has been anthologized in fifty states, and read in at least 2,000 colleges. Here it is:

> From my mother's sleep I fell into the State,
> And I hunched in its belly till my wet fur froze.
> Six miles from earth, loosed from its dream of life,
> I woke to black flak and the nightmare fighters.
> When I died they washed me out of the turret with a hose.

The academic explication of this poem praises it because it uses "birth imagery"; the turret is a womb from which the gunner is born into death. Be that as it may, it is when one reads the last line that one sees the real failure of the poem, the dispersal of its possible point. The detail of the hose is pure sentimentality. The man is dead, and he is no deader for being in fragments which have stuck to the metal and plexiglas. The *manner* of death has nothing to do with the rest of the poem, yet it occupies the portentous ending of a tiny poem. The line is like the oracular remarks of Sergeant Friday on *Dragnet*, and it chokes with the softness of toughness. Jarrell's note in the *Selected Poems* reads, "The hose was a steam hose."

Wherever you read in Jarrell, you find morbidity. My favorite note reads, in its entirety: "*La Belle au Bois Dormant* is a poem about a murdered woman; her body has been put in a trunk, and the trunk checked in a railway station." The combination of sentimentality and cruelty has been noted before, especially in the Germany which provides Jarrell with much of his subject matter. The poet of violent death is never without complicity.

In *The Woman at the Washington Zoo*, Jarrell writes at his best in "Jamestown" and "The Traveler." The poem called "In Those Days" begins with a nice description of courtship; the boy leaves the girl at her house, and goes home to sleep alone. Then comes the last stanza:

> How poor and miserable we were,
> How seldom together!
> And yet after so long one thinks:
> In those days everything was better.

It isn't the writing which is bad here. The language could seem admirably plain if the poem were correctly felt. But Jarrell leaves us with this trivial announcement of feeling. The rush of self-pity in the last line – like blood to the head – blinds him to the questions it raises. We have all heard this sentiment expressed: on television, in

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The Reader's Digest, in melodramas where the rich man comes to doubt the value of his money. Perhaps it is even *true* that people often feel this way. But why do they? Is it age and sexual deterioration? Is it the result of social compromise? What is the origin of the dissatisfaction?

Some poems in the last section of this book represent nightmares and hallucinations. Jarrell has written in this convention before, and has achieved a certain power by means of it. Of course a nightmare is violent, and even cruel. But perhaps there are other reasons why Jarrell finds the convention attractive. If you cannot deal with the commonplace except to sentimentalize it, you may wish to avoid it by dealing with its irrational reverse. The extraordinary provides a cover-up for the ordinary. Again, violence is the concomitant of unexamined emotion. In nightmares begin irresponsibilities.

How to Take the Reins

by Helen Fuller

Strange things are happening. The Brookings Institution has come up with a readable book on the very current subject of "Presidential Transitions." First the venerable Institution sets the style in egghead circles with a new headquarters building on downtown Massachusetts Avenue in Washington. And now it chooses to show commercial publishers a few tricks on timing.

Presidential Transitions
by Laurin L. Henry
(Brookings Institution; $7.50)

True, Mr. Henry's study would not have been so arrestingly apropos had Nixon been elected rather than Kennedy. The book concentrates on the four most recent party overturns out of the altogether 33 transfers of Presidential power the nation has survived – Taft to Wilson; Wilson to Harding; Hoover to Roosevelt; and Truman to Eisenhower.

Arriving when it does, Mr. Henry's report amounts to a campaign contribution to Senator Kennedy by the Ford Foundation, which financed the work. For had Kennedy not known that Ford was paying for such an inquiry he almost surely would have ordered one for himself. But Mr. Henry's work is not to be dismissed as a very present help to a beleaguered new President. He has deduced some sensible principles that any do-it-yourself election winner can follow with profit to us all in the future. And in the process he recalls fascinating incidents most of us have forgotten if we ever knew.

Do you remember how Woodrow Wilson treated his campaign manager on the morning after the election when that worthy tried to discuss who was to get what positions in the new administration?

> "McCombs had brought a list of men who had rendered distinguished service to the Wilson candidacy and some suggestions on the cabinet and other posts with which they might be rewarded. But from all accounts, the talk was a painful experience for both Wilson and McCombs. Wilson was completely unwilling to consider the subject McCombs had in mind. According to McCombs' bitter account, written several years later, Wilson asked his secretary to remain in the room to record the interview. Then he said: 'Whether you did little or much, remember that God ordained that I should be the next President of the United States. Neither you nor any other mortal or mortals could have prevented that'."

Did you remember that it was Warren Harding who first promised that if he were elected "the best brains of the country" would be put to work solving the nation's problems? Or that it was Harry Truman who first deliberately tried to set a precedent for the orderly transfer of power? The morning after the 1952 election, from the train carrying him back to Washington from his voting place in Missouri, the President telegraphed General Eisenhower:

"Congratulations on your overwhelming victory. The 1954 budget must be presented to the Congress before January 15th. All the preliminary figures have been made up. You should have a representative meet with the Director of the Budget immediately." And he added: "The Independence will be at your disposal if you still desire to go to Korea."

The difference between 1953 and other years of transition was that "Truman set out deliberately to establish a precedent that the outgoing President is expected to concern himself with this problem and establish a pattern of conduct for the entire administration."

Mr. Henry does not dwell long on what his review of recent history should teach us about how to make Presidential transitions smoother in the future. One final chapter commends the practice of early appointments to the new administration, detailed briefings of incoming personnel by those about to leave their posts, advance naming of the new budget chief to deal with the problems outlined in Harry Truman's letter to Eisenhower, a before-Inauguration convening of the cabinet (*à la* Eisenhower's Commodore Hotel session after the 1952 election). Most of which Kennedy has done or indicated his intention to do.

One way to insure greater "continuity and responsiveness" during changeovers, Mr. Henry suggests, might be to install the new President "shortly after the election and well before the convening of Congress – perhaps on November 15 or December 1," an idea that certainly merits debate. But in the end Mr. Henry falls back on the conclusion that how a President gets over the first formative year is largely a matter of individual style. Short of reform of the present American party system to make it more coherent, the incoming party, as he sees it, is likely to remain basically unprepared for office. Only when the new man proves to have a strong "style of leadership" will the process prove relatively painless for all concerned.

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THEATER

Blood and Water

Because it is much less risky to invest in an already proven commodity than to gamble on something new and untried, Broadway has become an adapter's market: over half of the current American stage attractions are based on works from other genres. The Broadway adapter is therefore prone to stalk a best-selling property with all the greedy voraciousness of an underfed vampire hotly pursuing a sanguinary virgin throat, while countless other bat-

Advise and Consent
by Loring Mandel
(Cort Theater)
All the Way Home
by Tad Mosel
(Belasco Theater)

talions of the thirsty wait expectantly behind him. For if the victim's blood proves palatable to Broadway it will soon be ingested by Hollywood and Madison Avenue too, and there may even be enough nourishment left over for another full round of drinks, providing the red cells can be made to skip to music. The trouble with this corpuscular exchange is that the blood eventually turns to water. The original work may not have been very robust to begin with, but by comparison the adaptation almost invariably looks pallid, listless, and wan.

An exception to this general rule is the recent transfusion to the stage of Allen Drury's *Advise and Consent*, for the play seems to me a distinct improvement over the novel. Much of the credit for this must go to Franklin Schaffner, the director, who along with a gifted production staff has turned out the cleanest, crispest, most elegant show in town. The performances, while not especially penetrating, are always dynamic and vigorous: it is heartening to see how well stock actors like Chester Morris, Ed Begley, Richard Kiley, Henry Jones, and Kevin McCarthy can respond to authoritative handling. But it is the visual quality of the evening which provides its real pleasures. Rouben Ter-Arutunian has designed a space setting, backed with mobile black and white screens, which has simplicity, plasticity, and motion; John Boxer has outfitted the actors in neat grey and black wardrobes for a somber and dignified effect; and under Klaus Holm's geometric shafts of light even a conventional piece of furniture like an office chair becomes a pleasing aesthetic object. The restrained use of color and the air of brisk efficiency in this production stand in sharp contrast to the gaudy amateurism of the usual Broadway hodge-podge.

As for the adaptation, it is full of indigestible things, some inherited from the book, some imposed by the limitations of the stage. But Loring Mandel has a better ear for dialogue than Mr. Drury, a more economical sense of form, and a sharper knowledge of character, so that the cardboard patriots of the novel have now been fleshed with a semblance of human meat. On the other hand, the play – while eliminating Drury's literary gaucheries – is still hobbled by the simplistic outlines of the original story.

As in all American political fiction, the conflict here is between principle and expediency, and it is resolved, depressingly enough, in the usual moralistic manner, all flags waving. A Machiavellian President has made his choice for Secretary of State and, for thoroughly unconvincing reasons, insists his appointment is essential to the country's security; an idealistic Senator, for better reasons, is certain the candidate is a liar and an appeaser. To clear away resistance, the President gets the Senator discredited by the revelation of a homosexual incident in his past. The Senator commits suicide. And the Senate permits right to triumph posthumously by voting against the nominee after declaring, "No nation ever survived by abandoning its principles in time of crisis."

While some have taken this play to be an attack on liberalism, it is really a criticism of political pragmatism, and a rather unfair one at that. Machiavellian pragmatism is a perfectly legitimate philosophy of government (America might today have a better chance for survival if more expediency and less pseudo-idealism had been exercised in recent diplomacy), but the dice have been loaded here to make it look like the immoral position of an egoistic politician. Thus, instead of opposing right against right as in a dialectical play of ideas, the author gives us a melodrama, opposing right against wrong. As for the author's idealistic defense of American principles, it would have been more to the point to ask whether America still has any principles left to abandon, but this question is perhaps better left to artists than to chauvinistic journalists. As a political document, *Advise and Consent* makes *The Best Man* look like a primer for the eighth grade civics class, but it is still ten leagues from being a genuine play of ideas.

Tad Mosel's *All the Way Home* is a dramatic adaptation of James Agee's *Death in the Family*, and here we see more clearly how artistic blood can turn into stage water. This liquid conversion, I must quickly add, is not intentional, for everyone concerned with the project obviously loved the book, and was determined to transfer it to the stage with a minimum of compromise. Admittedly, this determination did not prevent them from tacking on a final affirmation which is neither appropriate nor moving, and there is an extremely embarrassing gaffe in the second act when an aggrieved family suddenly bursts into hysterical laughter. But generally the evening is free from either cynicism or vulgarity. Tad Mosel, without finally succeeding in making it fully dramatic, has shown commendable reverence for his material; and Arthur Penn's delicate direc-

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Victor Lange *is on the German faculty at Princeton.* Kenneth Pitchford, *the author of two books of poems, teaches at New York University.* Paul Mattick *has written widely in the field of economics.* Donald Hall's *first book,* Exiles and Marriages, *was the Lamont Poetry Selection in 1955.*

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tion, David Hays' suggestive setting, and the sensitive acting of the entire cast are all designed to give us a tender and unusual theatrical experience.

What, then, is the problem? I guess the problem is the stage. Agee's intention was to demonstrate how people actually *respond* to the news of a death, but the reality of grief simply cannot be communicated by actors, no matter how gifted they may be. A stage emotion, at best, is only an objective correlative for a real feeling, and while Colleen Dewhurst's emotional range is impressive, her grief is still a lie compared with the grief of a living person in the same circumstance. What the play lacks, finally, is authenticity – the kind of authenticity glimpsed for a moment in the first act when the family visits a cackling, comatose crone so old she cannot contain her urine. But since this is probably the first, and undoubtedly the last, time Broadway ever tried to deal honestly with death, the failure is an honorable one. How many of our shabby successes can boast of the same?

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

MOVIES

The Facts on the Debit Side

> "Thus easily did Stephen Blackpool fall into the loneliest of lives, the life of solitude among a familiar crowd. . . . By general consent, they even avoided that side of the street on which he habitually walked; and left it, of all the working-men, to him only."

So Dickens wrote in *Hard Times* about a working man "sent to Coventry" by his mates for refusing to join a strike. Something over a hundred years later,

The Angry Silence (Valiant)
The Grass Is Greener (U-I)

when the labor-management balance is quite different, the British have sent us *The Angry Silence*, an excellently-made and disturbing film about a worker in the same fix.

I'm All Right, Jack in satire and this film in earnest treat of items on the debit side of labor progress in the last hundred years, particularly the last thirty. No one with a grain of selfish practicality, let alone social conscience, can wish for a reversal of that progress. But no one with a view of the ultimate purpose of that progress (surely more than the abolition of poverty) can shut his eyes to the facts on the debit side. This new film is concerned with two of those facts: the bullying of management by workers with lately acquired muscles, and the risk of loss of individual conscience in the worker.

Richard Attenborough plays an English factory-hand who refuses to go out on a wildcat strike called for purposes of maneuver only. When the strike is over, he is shunned by his fellows, his life is made miserable, his son is tormented. He is so bewildered by all this that he almost regrets the decision he is stuck with. He has not taken any reasoned stand; he has simply been forced into his position through anger at being pushed. Now he finds himself supposed by some to be a hero, exploited on TV and in the press. The boss himself wishes he would quit (although, in the spotlight, he can't fire him). Then an even more arbitrary and sudden strike is called, the same worker refuses to join, and this time is so badly beaten by young toughs that he loses an eye. The film ends with his mates' shock at the malevolence unleashed by their thoughtlessness.

Technically the picture is virtually above reproach. Bryan Forbes, an English actor turned writer (he appears briefly as a reporter), has put his story in pungent, well-characterized dialogue. He and Attenborough have co-produced the film carefully. Guy Green and Anthony Harvey have directed and edited it to bear always on the point and to move forward incisively. Arthur Ibbetson's photography is a ruthless album of the ugliness of factory and factory-workers' life. Attenborough

by Osborn

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and Pier Angeli (as his Italian wife) give performances that are representative because they are not consciously typical (as "little people" so often are in American films). They are human beings first and therefore can state a case for their group. Bernard Lee, the shop steward, Geoffrey Keen, the works manager, and Laurence Naismith, the managing director, seem never to have done anything but those jobs. And Brian Bedford and Brian Murray, as a pair of no-longer juvenile delinquents, are appropriately impenetrable.

The film has one very serious fault: its catalyst. The wildcat strikes are provoked by a mysterious agent who comes to this industrial town from London, not from union headquarters, and manipulates Bernard Lee according to secretly telephoned instructions. The object of the first strike seems to be to pave the way for the second, which disrupts the manufacture of an ICBM. We are left with no possible conclusion other than that the agent is a political *provocateur* out to disrupt British industry, if not defense.

No doubt such agents exist, there and here, but to use the activities of a Communist (?) plotter as the basis for a film on the excesses of the labor movement seems to me eccentric and melodramatic. Also, it suggests that labor ills would end with the elimination of foreign agents. I wish that this film had been based on one or more of the truer problems; feather-bedding, jurisdictional strikes, gangster domination, for examples. We don't need quasi-thrillers about labor; we need films that show industrial society examining its progress for flaws. As it is, this is a work of fine texture erected on a flimsy, almost irrelevant base.

Still it elicits two reflections. First, Dickens would have recognized many of the details; the western world still lives in the protracted shadow of the Industrial Revolution. Second, American film-makers have not touched this toweringly important subject.

If some day there is a Secretary of Arts, I shall petition him to establish at least one film theater for enlightening juxtaposition. If such a theater existed now, it could show in sequence Jean Simmons' film of last year *Home Before Dark* and her latest film *The Grass Is Greener*. This would exemplify some home truths about acting and some facts about Miss Simmons' range and powers. In the first film she played a woman released from a mental hospital attempting to re-adjust to family life; it was a beautifully shadowed, grave, frenetic performance. In her new film she does what all actors will recognize as at least equally difficult: she plays a frothy high-comedy part with style, sureness, and gaiety. She has beauty and charm and they help, but they would not be enough by themselves. She also has dependable technique and those two things without which such comedy is impossible: keen acting intelligence and the ability to summon and control a sense of bubble, of high-spiritedness.

The film is an exceptionally deftly written piece of English "triangle" fluff by Hugh and Margaret Williams, has good performances by Cary Grant and Deborah Kerr, and the presence of Robert Mitchum. Stanley Donen, the director, has coped reasonably well with essentially uncongenial film material. The dialogue and Miss Simmons are warmly recommended as warm mid-winter tonics.

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Prompters and Actors

Sirs:

"TRB" (December 12) criticizes a motionless Christianity and its silent clergy; then points bravely and happily to the still small signs of reform, and the fact that, at last, there are both direction and steam present in the motion of the ship of state; and then, finally, he bemoans the possibility of live, televised press conferences, which may unmask the anonymity of the press and reduce the candor of the valuable critical function of the press.

The questions that are raised by the whole page of comment are indeed questions of function, not only of clergy and press, but of President and people, as well. Whose function is it to "keep hammering" (we clergy keep hammering, too, with as few real listeners as you say you have) and whose function to act? . . . Kierkegaard once likened the roles of actor, prompter, and audience in a play to those same roles in a devotional talk or sermon. However, in his analogy, the roles were reversed. The role of prompter is played by the speaker or preacher. The real actors are the congregation.

The same analogy might be made of the editors of "a small magazine" just as the clergy of "a small religion." The prompter, either in the pulpit or the press conference or the pages of his medium, has a vital role to play. But it is vastly different from that of the ones who have to do the acting in the world. Finally, prompters and actors alike must always be aware that the real audience for both is God.

The Reverend B. Whitman Dennison
Church of the Holy Spirit
Missoula, Montana

The Problem of Justice

Sirs:

In his thoughtful article "Eichmann and the Problem of Justice" (Nov. 21), Giles Playfair refers several times to the "Jewish People" and, in particular, quotes Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion as saying that Eichmann will "stand

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trial before the Jewish People." The sadism and moral corruption of Eichmann notwithstanding, his trial is being conducted by an Israeli court on behalf of the Israeli nation. It has absolutely nothing to do in the legal, political or cultural sense with the status of Jews in the United States or – for that matter – in any other country outside of Israel.

Ned Hanauer
Washington, D. C.

The tone of the "Eichmann" letter (5 December) is not surprising but its authorship is. I find it distressing that an eminent jurist can find compassion "irrelevant," under any circumstances. Yet Justice Hofstadter deems it "unrealistic" to think of Eichmann as a member of the human race, preferring the idea of a "monster" or a "beast" to be removed in accordance with transcendental principles.

Now Eichmann referred to the Jews as "subhumans to be eliminated; they deserve no sympathy for they are in fact not human." Himmler's personal fantasy was satisfied by collecting skulls of "Jewish-Bolshevik commissars, who represent the prototype of the repulsive, but characteristic subhuman."

The implications are rather obvious. I wonder whether the unspeakable horrors of the past have all been suffered in vain.

Richard B. Du Boff
Philadelphia, Penna.

Our Farm Program

Sirs:

I am a subscriber to *The New Republic*, and I have found it to be far superior to most sources in providing accurate and more complete information on most of the public issues that confront the American voter today. It was, therefore, with a great deal of disappointment that I read the article, "A More Rational Farm Program" in the December 5, 1960, issue. As a person who lived on the farm quite a few years, has relatives still living on the farm, and who has been closely associated with agriculture for most of my sixty ears, I must say that this article displays an almost complete ignorance of the farm problem.

Orville H. Mastin
Denver, Colorado

Big Business *vs.* Little Business

Sirs:

In his article of September 26 Sen. Paul Douglas urges that giant companies be broken up and further subdivided. And he gives as a reason that such a policy would "at once lower prices and stimulate effort and output." Would this be a likely result?

Even if we leave aside the "at once" and consider instead a period of years we can well ask ourselves has the pressure for lower prices in real terms (*i.e.* making allowance for the changing value of the dollar) come from small or large concerns. I doubt if any universal answer can be given. But there are several conspicuous examples that might be considered. It seems quite clear that improvements and reduced margins in food retailing have been induced by the chain stores and super markets and not by the independent small stores. Also in the department store field it appears that such giants as Sears and Montgomery Ward customarily offer prices that require strenuous efforts of the local stores to meet. In auto financing the "independents" have complained that the big companies offer lower terms than they can afford to meet.

I do not question the value of small concerns in any fields, but that value does not generally consist in lower costs and prices. Indeed if small companies could and did offer lower prices and better values they would not remain small. After all it is the buying decisions of consumers that make a company big or small.

The question of the social values of large companies and small companies has many facets, some of the most pertinent of which are non-economic. But when economist Paul Douglas makes the flat assertion that the mere decision to make small companies out of big ones would "at once" lead to lower prices or even if he wanted to add "in the long run," he is assuming a very heavy burden of proof, for the statement runs counter to common observation and indeed to the claims advanced even by many of the friends of smaller corporations.

C. E. Griffin
Professor of Business Economics
University of Michigan

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